1: Chabot--i E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

/v/

Foreword

The completion of this book signifies for me the end of a period that had actually ended earlier. The Second World War prevented the normal publication of the data gathered before 1942, and after the war I did not think I should continue before a study of Makassarese-Buginese culture had appeared.

In looking back over the past years, I am gratefully indebted to all those who have been ready to give me their friendship and help in the most varied forms.

In the first instance, my gratitude goes to the late Professor B. ter Haar, who furnished me with the instruction to investigate adat law in South Celebes. His letters with constantly stimulating questions and comments will always remain a pleasant memory to me.

I am grateful to Professor C. T. Bertling, Chairman of the District Courts of Macassar in 1937, under whom it was possible to consolidate my uncertain position as an unemployed official without a degree, and who later gave constant evidence of his genuine interest in my work.

Furthermore, I am indebted to Professor A. A. Cense, linguist in the service of the government at Macassar until 1941, at whose office I was able to work all those years, and who was always prepared to give me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the language, country, and people of South Celebes.

In 1948 Professor Rd. Soepomo was able to return to me parts of chapters that had been sent to Jakarta in 1941 and kept there by him. I should like to extend my gratitude to him for this here.

My fondest memories will be of my field work in the kingdom of Goa, more particularly in the adat community of Borongloë, both before as well as after the war. To the Prince of Goa and to the head of the adat community, Hamzah Daëng Tompo, I herewith express my very special thanks for the hospitality that

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/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have
• 114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

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1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

●114 /2 cont./ norms existing in this community in such a manner that these will become comprehensible to the judge who is a stranger.

In the second type of publication, the investigator is not concerned with the structure of the community. He assumes this to be essentially known and concentrates on presenting, "in the form of judicial rules deductions that in his opinion are justified by the available material of facts." This material consists primarily of cases that occurred in the desa /native term for "village community." -- Tr./ and of jurisprudence. Soepomo was the promotor of this type of publication (2).

2. R. Soepomo, a) "Verslag omtrent het onderzoek naar het adatgrondenerfrecht in het gewest Jogjakarta buiten de hoofdplaats /Report on the Investigation of Adat Land Inheritance Right in the Jogjakarta District Outside the City/" Mededeelingen van de Afdeeling Adatrecht, 1930, b) Het Adatprivaatrecht van West Java /The Adat Private Law of West Java/, 1933. For the quotations in this paragraph, see the introduction to this book by B. ter Harr, p. iv.

The simultaneous occurrence, of these two types can only be understood historically. For a number of decades van Vollenhoven left his mark on the work of investigators and their publications. He produced the system in which all data concerning the community could be placed; but this system was juridical in its structure. Van Vollenhoven particularly directed attention to legal usage; he forged the necessary juridical terms. At the same time all data regarding the community were of concern since they served as materials for the juridical structure.

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 114 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

•114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

612/621 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang), whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 602 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

●114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht. /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor...has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to [592] the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

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866 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

•[114]

1. Matthes (see Woordenboek, p. 420) translates adjallo' as "running amuck." Adjallo', in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "tau andjalloki sarenna"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
554 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

594 The Ornament-Worship Community
● 114 Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

[113]

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 794 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the connection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 794 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

[769] The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The [773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

644 778 182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/

Chapter II

Social Status

114 565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

● 114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people, To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
85 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J. P. B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

/81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 174 565 586 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." [567] Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 174 565 582 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes. Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that, simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 174 565 [591] Of the four common characteristics, the mention of patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding. My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
581 children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

671/102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 554 571 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

• 114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "... the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
675 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
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cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that th.. marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

[582]

In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart.
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Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643 Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

643 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of
669 purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 643 669 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

114 589 885 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 589 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

589 The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

[162] /163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

1:Chabot--243 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

[114]

1:Chabot--244 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

[14 196]

1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 571 [114 196] /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

554 571 685 /212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status,
● 114 nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
[114] deeper knowledge of the
Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons
that lead to a silariang
marriage has therefore proved
incorrect. See /Ibid./
Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 163 217 [777 751] /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register. The reason that people do not like to register a child that has just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride. For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags. There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent the correct number.

[844] A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months after birth.

[553] A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114 217 165 [793] In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants), the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks concerning heirs and estate.

[961] The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age, are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care. Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

●114 217 585 In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

914 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651

/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425

The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 217 675 425

/252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 217 674

In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan), which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

[177]

Registers of Legal Matters

114 217 671

The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloë when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 217 671 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 217 651 The kampong head has a register with the names of the men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée, nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 217 486 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 217 161 [65] The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 per cent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 217 161

/255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 217 871

The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department, are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 217 871

/256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/ unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

• 114 217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position
217 to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers, and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from the administrative officials, now the Self-government members, to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the
114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

Gorontalo OG4
Ambon OH4

Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Ngadja OC9
Sundanese OE7

[182 cont.]

d. General Remarks about the Batak, Lampong, Redjang, Makassarese, and Buginese Literature

I 538 Finally, we shall give some general remarks about the literature of the other peoples of the archipelago. First, however, we shall briefly discuss the present state of our knowledge of their languages and the way we learned about them. We need not waste many words in pointing out that especially during recent years great progress has been made. One only has to look S N M B I at the literature on the Indies of 30 years ago to learn that practically nothing was known on the subject. For that matter, as we learned above, not much more was known of Javanese.

● 114 19 We owe thanks for this knowledge, first, to the efforts of the Netherlands Bible Society of Amsterdam and to the various missionary societies active in the Indies. The first-mentioned society in particular has sent many a scholar to the Indies to study the as yet inaccessible languages. For example, Dr. van der Tuuk worked on the Batak language and has published a grammar, four volumes of chrestomathy, and a dictionary of it. Dr. B. F. Matthes has performed a similar service for the languages of southern Celebes and has prepared Makassarese and Buginese dictionaries, grammars, and anthologies. Likewise, Dr. Hardeland studied Dajak [Dyak], especially the language of the Olo Ngadju, which gave us a Grammatik and Wörterbuch [dictionary]. The study of Sundanese [183] was undertaken by the Bible Society, but the results were less satisfactory because their representative, Dr. Engelmann, died before his task was completed.

G 114 19 No less commendable in this respect were the efforts of the Netherlands Missionary Society of Rotterdam. Their missionaries on northern Celebes among the Minahasa made the languages of the Alfoer accessible. (Among these missionaries, the name of N. Ph. Wilken, the father of the late Professor Wilken, must not go unmentioned.) No less valuable were their A 114 19 services with regard to the languages of the Ambon Islands, particularly the study of the various dialects, the so-called bahasa

Makassar 066
Redjang-Lampung OD12
Batak 005

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only have scaleless fish at home" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 83 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] ●
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
● 114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e., literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friederícy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friederícy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 838 231 881 304 574 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles.--Analyst] This checks, but, as Friederícy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 1140 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Frederic y's [i.e., H.J. Friederic y, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

1 [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederic y. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But some of them have seen maps in the schools. 203 186 829

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for relations with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons. 186 181 578 721

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here know very little even about local historical events. This reminds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver 157 114

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

6061 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a